

TOP SECRET SENSITIVE

State Dept. review completed

1972 OCT 2 AM 8 05

Q

T O P S E C R E T SENSITIVE 021011Z OCT 72 VIA CAS CHANNELS (BUNKER),
FROM: GENERAL HAIG SAIGON 0174 IMMEDIATE
TOJC THE WHITE HOUSE, EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY FOR HENRY A. KISSINGER
HAIGTO 009

I WANT TO INVITE YOUR ATTENTION TO [REDACTED] COSVN 25X1
DIRECTIVE 06 ISSUED TO SUBORDINATE ECHELONS IN MID-SEPTEMBER OF 1972.
IT MAKES FOR FASCINATING READING AND APPEARS TO DOVETAIL WITH SUB-
STANCE OF LATEST DRV PEACE PLAN.

MAIN POINTS OF DOCUMENT, AS I SEE THEM, ARE:

-- COMMUNISTS ARE PRESSING AHEAD WITH CONTINGENCY PLANNING
FOR IN-PLACE CEASEFIRE.

-- COMMUNISTS EXPECT INTENSE CONTINUED STRUGGLE POST-
CEASEFIRE PERIOD IN FORM OF LOCAL FORCE ACTIVITY AND STEPPED UP
POLITICAL VIOLENCE.

-- NGPLICIT THROUGHOUT DIRECTIVE IS THAT GVN WILL CONTINUE TO
ADMINISTER AREAS UNDER ITS CONTROL AFTER MAIN FORCE CEASEFIRE AND
THAT CEASEFIRE WILL NOT IN ITSELF REPRESENT CULMINATION OF WAR AND
SATISFACTION OF COMMUNIST POLITICAL OBJECTIVES.

-- LOCAL CADRE ARE THEREFORE URGED TO REDOUBLE PRESENT EFFORTS
AND ALSO NOT BE SURPRISED IF CEASEFIRE SETTLEMENT IS REACHED DESPITE
GVN PREDOMINANCE IN A NUMBER OF LOCALITIES.

DIRECTIVE WOULD THEREFORE APPEAR, AMONG OTHER THINGS, TO BE
ATTEMPT TO PREPARE CADRE FOR POSSIBILITY
OF DOCTRINAL REVERSE,

NAMELY THAT CEASEFIRE SETTLEMENT MAY COME BEFORE POLITICAL
OBJECTIVES HAVE BEEN FULLY MET AND THEREFORE CADRE MUST BE
PREPARED FOR PERIOD OF CONTINUED RISK.

SETTING THIS DIRECTIVE AGAINST LATEST DRV PEACE PLAN COULD
BE TAKEN AS EXPLICIT CONFIRMATION THAT NEW DRV OFFER REPRESENTS
CONSIDERABLE RISK IN POLITIBURO'S PERCEPTION AND INDEED SUBSTANTIAL
DEPARTURE FROM EARLIER POSITIONS EVEN IF IT STILL CONTAINS MANY
UNACCEPTABLE ELEMENTS.

NOTE ALSO REPEATED EMPHASIS ON ENEMY MAIN FORCE ACTIVITY
IN NORTHERN PART OF COUNTRY AS PART OF EFFORT TO DENUDE POPULATED
SOUTHERN HEARTLAND OF ARVN FORCES AND MAKE POSSIBLE GREATER
POLITICAL INROADS INTO LATTER AREAS.

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE
INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

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EXCLUSIVE

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